1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

THE VILLAGE AND THE HOUSE

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other things which have now taken their places among the necessaries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 5.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING TWO DAIRIES IN THE FOREGROUND AND THREE HOUSES IN THE BACKGROUND.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562

In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 ●361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in.

Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,[1] and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

618 The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace
621 of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number
361 of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

[1] A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nödrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers.

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house.

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family.

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
616 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
775 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more
142 doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it. When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
616 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

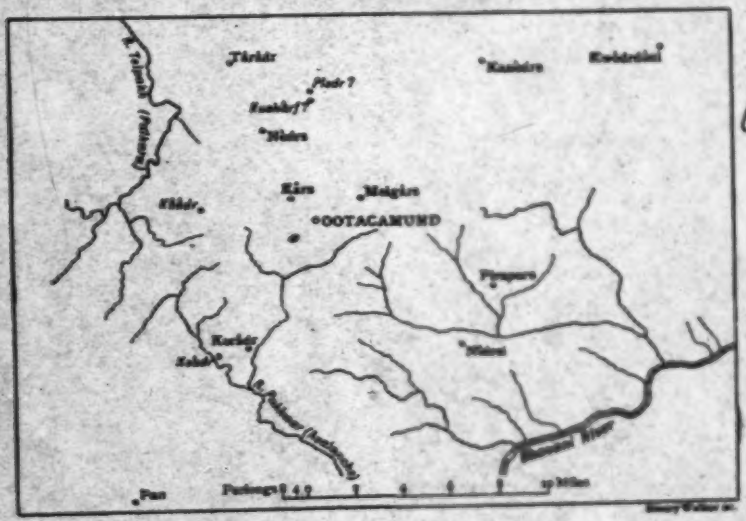

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

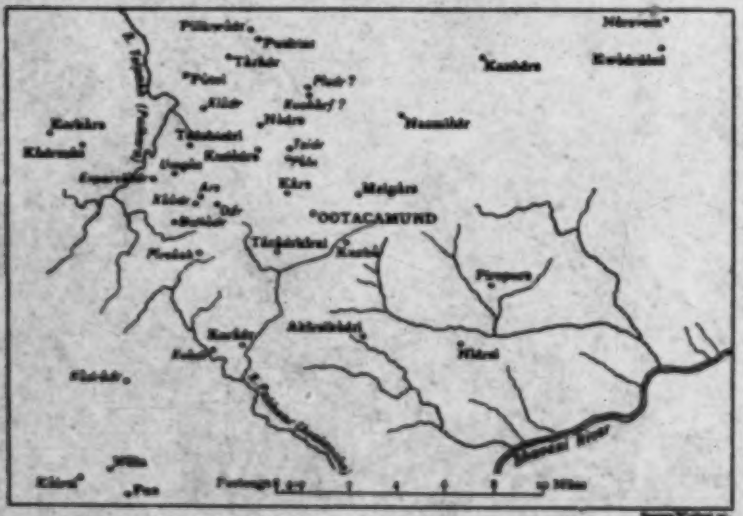

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a community, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teual*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this
361 clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been
survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have
been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no
sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from
a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only
village which remains, and if I had done so I might have
discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from
what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence
exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with
the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at
Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which
point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district.
Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs
ti are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the
Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said
to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of
similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas
migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the
path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached
to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard
it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over
the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by
slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were
created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route,
which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris
known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach
importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed
would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the
latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had
travelled during the last few years, it would have been the
natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that
there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two
routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour
of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Akîrsikòdri	Nidrsi	Tarnadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pîm		
Âts	Kundr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Tarsdr	Arettalmand	
Âtimad	Tarsdr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
Erpenkòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kundr	Edattalmand	
Inîkitj	Pîm	Bettumand	
Isharkîr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kundr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kîkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*etudmad.*
Kapthòri	Kendr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Kendr		
Karis	Kundr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*etudmad.*
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashtkòdr	Kundr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katîkâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodamadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kîvkther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteraimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Kekîr	Kendr	Karrikadumand	*etudmad.*
Kehâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedîr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirad	Kundr	Keradamand	[place.
Kerkîr	Kendr	Kannagimand	*etudmad*, also male funeral
Kerkârs	Tarsdr	Karrakalmand	
Keshkar	Kanòdrs		

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Village.	*Class.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Kashker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Kirsks	Melgars		
Kôôdr	Kwadr	Kengodumand	*sutimal.*
Kôôh	Pîodr	Karimulimand	
Kôdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Kersdr	Kokkimalmand	in ruins.
Koshber	Kwadr	Kasubirumand	disused.
Koshtôdi	Nôdrs		
Kôdimad	Tarsdr	Kulimand	
Kudôdrs	Nôdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kôdrôdr	Kesdr	Kudukkadumand	
Kôdrmôs	Tarsdr	Kudimalmand	*kalsimal.*
Kôdrnâkhem	Nôdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwain	Kwadr		disused.
Kôirsi	Pan	Kolimand	
Kâlikâl	Kwôdrdeni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kalkôdri	Nôdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kâlmad	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kâkhpuli	Nôdrs		female funeral place.
Kârkalmat	Kwadr		female funeral place.
Karvôs	Nôdrs	Karudamand	
Kashârf	Kasharf		*studmal.*
Kôôdi	Piedr	Anaikundukulimand	(? Kôûdi).
Kôôdr	Kwadr	Kundakodumand	*studmal.*
Kushû	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kushû	Kanôdrs		near Kanôdrs: disused.
Kwarkôr	Kesdr	Kugadodmand	
Kwatkash	Pîm	Marunallimand	female funeral place.
Kwbg	Kwadr	Korangumand	
Kwôdrdôsi	Kwôdrdeni	Kodudonnemand	*studmal.*
Madôni	Pedrkars		
Madôû	Pîm	Manjathalmand	
Madûû	Kwadr		disused.
Marmarv	Pîm		
Melgârs	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*studmas.*
Melkhôdr	Kwadr	Mekkodumand	
Meldr	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwashrwalth	Kanôdrs		
Mervin	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mirudsi	Melgars		male funeral place.
Mirkni	Kwadr	Marlimand	
Melkash	Kwadr	Malkodmand	
Mhmashthi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Malkes	Nôdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthkhir	Kwadr		disused.
Nasmôdr	Kars	(Agnadmand)	
Nâthrs	Pan	Natanerimand	
Nedrôsi	Tarsdr	Kilmand	in ruins.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Nelkuh	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nerngòdr	Kuudr		disused.
Nersvem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenamandi	in ruins.
Nersvem	Nidrsi	Nadumand	in ruins.
Nesbkwòdr	Kesdr	Nedikodumand	
Niklrsi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*etudmad.*
Nirkâtji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
Nirsht	Piedr		
Nirsk	Pïm		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Taradr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*etudmad.*
Nongârsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nüln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
Òrs	Taradr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegâr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Paliners	Kuudr		
Pïm	Pïm		in ruins.
Pamârkol	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Onnamand	*etudmad*: often called "One mand."
Panmuti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Parzkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathâdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
Pathnârs	Pan	Bettumand	
Pôdrkâsa	Pedrkars	Budekalmand	*etudmad.*
Pegârsi	Kersdr	Attumand	in ruins.
Peivèrs	Kuudr		
Pekhòdr	Kesdr	Osamand	"new mand."
Peletkwur	Kars	Attakosaimand	
Pêeg	Pan	Yeragimand	*kalolmad.*
Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Peshkimad	Pedrkars	?	female funeral place.
Pevar	Taradr	Pevarnand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	*etudmad.*
Plitth	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
Pineiwars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
Pirshti	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
Pirsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pòdzkwar	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pûzhkwar.
Poln	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
Pömad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
Pòsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pòti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pûlkwûdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkûin	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Banukudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Püvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Päm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Täktut	Päm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmâkh	Kuudr	Tamogamand	
Târâdr	Taradr	Tarnardmand	*etudmad*, and male funeral place.
Târâdrkîrai	Kars	Kavaikkadumand	male funeral place, also *kalolmad*.
Tarkòdr	Kuudr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkûdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebmârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Tedshteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgûdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalolmad*.
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tîm	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabûdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandimand	
Tûdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tülchoven	Päm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Ushâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengûdr	Taradr	Yenakodumand	in ruins.

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2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist.

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape.

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ârsh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land.

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

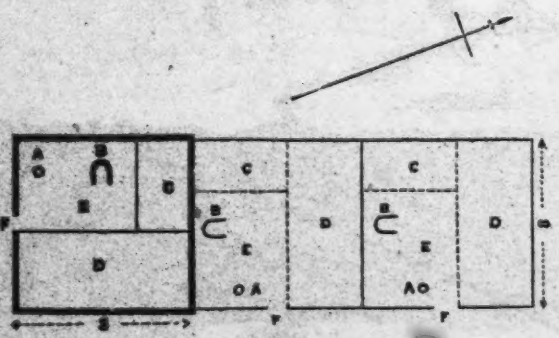
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. VI.

originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm‡ Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

‡ [Letters did not reproduce here in the original text--Analyst]

Nº 13
opp. p. 66

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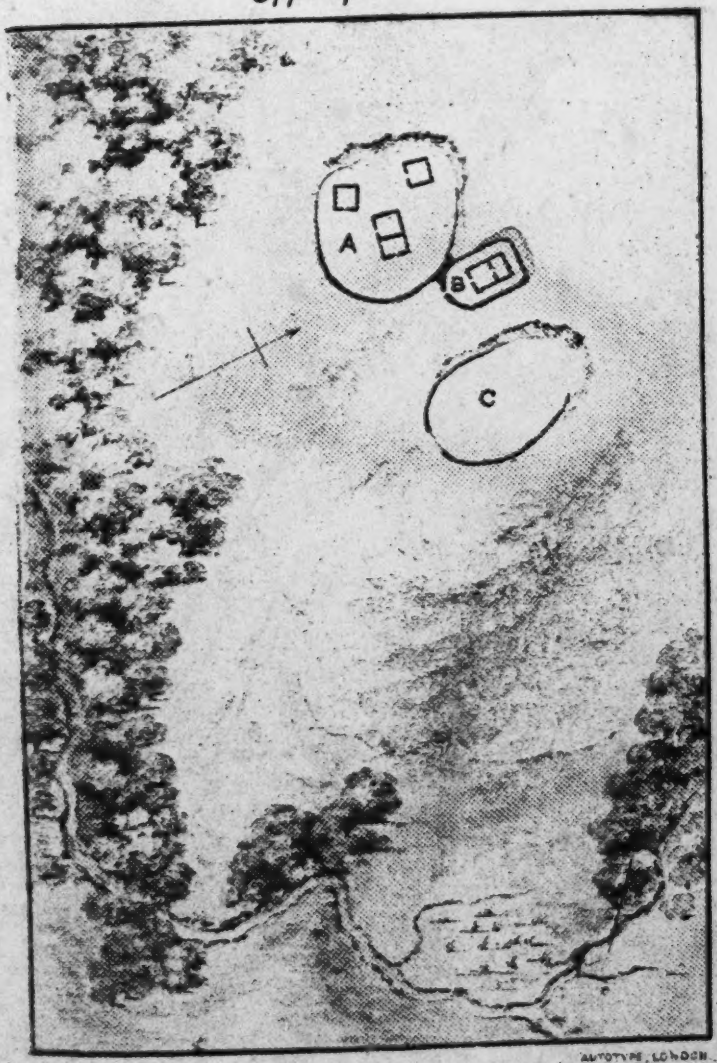

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

A TYPICAL MAND

A—RESIDENCES. B—DAIRY. C—CATTLE PEN.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VI.

of milk—pâl—and for its conversion into clarified-butter.[5] This building varies in size according to that of the village herd; from the dimensions of an ordinary house of two rooms, to one perhaps half as large again. It is situated somewhat apart from the Mand, and—presumably for the sake of coolness—is generally found on a site which has been partially dug out from the side of the hill, on the slope of which the Mand is situated. The dairy is always enclosed within its separate wall, which is built very close up to it, and the outside of the wall often earthed in. The outer door is much of the size of those in ordinary dwellings, but that in the partition wall, forming the only means of access to the dairy room within, is of minute dimensions; probably one cubit high and about half a cubit broad.

The accompanying typical plan of a Mand will explain the description which has just been given. The village itself is invariably situated in the open, exposed to the sun almost from daybreak to sunset, but sheltered by the hill side from the full force of the wind.

The Todas have been credited with some taste in the selection of sites for Mands; owing to the beauty and often romantic nature of their situations; invariably on some open grassy slope, where wood and spring or rivulet combine. But I more than doubt if any innate sense of the beautiful influences them in the choice; for neither do their heads, nor do their other acts, give probability of the possession by them of any taste. I am disposed to attribute the success of these happy selections to the fact that, acting with a very strong practical sense of the advantage of localities, they have, whilst seeking shelter for themselves and cattle from the monsoon storms, with a dry bit of soil in proximity to water and fuel—the whole centrical with regard to pasture—obtained, by means of the natural advantages of a lovely land-

[5] Known in India as ghi; in Toda termed nei.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

361 scape, an harmonious whole, very striking to visitors of cultivated tastes. CHAP. VI.

103 A knowledge of Drâvidian dialects would probably show the names of their villages, of which the following are a few samples, to be mainly descriptive of localities.

Diljavênu.	Bângâdu.[7]
Kakhodi.	Karshk.[8]
Beresthro.	Mênmadd.[9]
Koana-koar.[6]	Keshkir.[10]
Ebgodu.	Kirzho.

Melkarshk.[11]

[6] Koan = *male calf*; karr = *female calf*.

[7] Bân = *sky*.

Gâdu, or godu, or gudu, affixes to names of villages; from kudu = *come together*; the same as Mand, which is Tamil for *collection*. [POPE.]

[8] Karshk = *stone*.

[9] Mên = *wood, forest*; Madd = Mand. See above.

[10] Ir, or iri, or ari, affixes to names of villages; from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist*. Ûr, *a village* in Tamil, is from the same root. [POPE.]

[11] Mel = *upper*; karshk = *stone*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck —'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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343 234 342

A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth	Kudar
Mâr	Markush

Puzhash.

361 621 221

And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII, on the Bell-gods.

They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

"A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three "of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the "calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped "construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or "doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is "not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid "slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to "entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so "arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the "height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other "openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress "and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, "to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling "is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, "and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with "thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before "and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the "pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains "the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is "sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. "On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, "and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform "is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation "on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of "firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops "of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by "a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. "The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo "measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two "empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

"Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose "stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 18 × 10 "feet."

The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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* Derived from *Manĭ*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manĭ*.

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TODA VILLAGE. TARNÄT MAND.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand (village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tökiȷ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noːṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töunoːṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoːṛ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aːṛ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noːṛ "sacred place." Within the noːṛ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noːṛ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noːṛ "sacred place" or töunoːṛ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [607] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] [234] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The re- 778 striction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at 778 which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is 946 a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[29] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast.

The use of poles and bones at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects.

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris.

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[30] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units.

[29] Rivers, p. 700.

[30] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōrg. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil kuḷku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannada kuḍagu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam kuḍagu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannada kuḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōrg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

[1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

a = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot	u = blue	z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ô = word	ù = cook	' = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = boy	oo = moon	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	ü = French	
			r = rot		

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
621 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose
[12] characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass
[312] expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[244] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

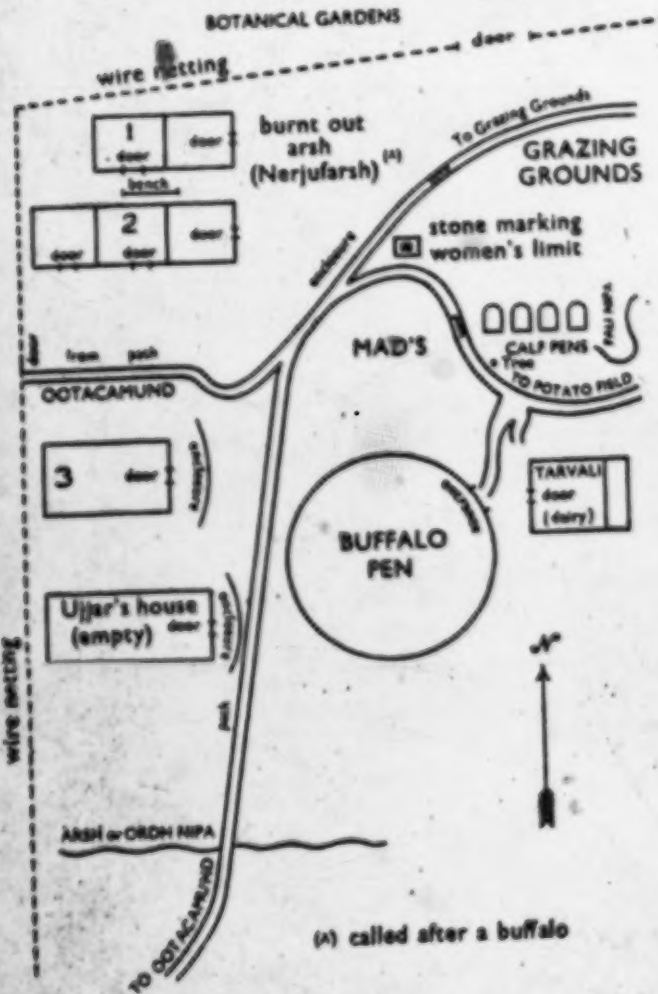
Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh mand.

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417
487
234
312
621
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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 342 621 [104] From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 513 592 [793] In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Melgarsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 464 511 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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[793] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]